

SCOTLAND'S STORY

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**Who stood where
when nobles took
the Union shilling**

**Defoe: portrait of
the author as spy**

**The pros and cons
of Union – and the
details of the deal**

**Differences over
the reign in Spain**

**The old folk cure
was to drink from
a suicide's skull**



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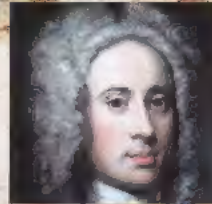
1704

'Grand Alliance' victorious against France at Blenheim.



1705

John, second Duke of Argyll, influential in appointment of Union commissioners.



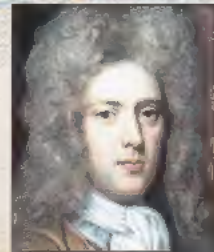
1706

June: Marlborough's allied force defeats French at Ramillies.



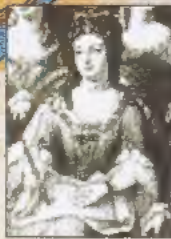
1706

October: Seafield argues the case for Union at last meeting of parliament in Edinburgh.



1706

July: Draft Union treaty ready for consideration.



1707

January: Act of Union passed in Scots parliament.



UNION

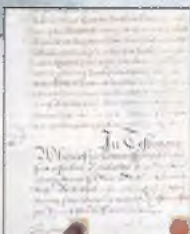
London Proclamation against
Incorporating
with England
CONSIDERATIONS
The Inhabitants of this UNION, and
danger arising from it in the
Church of SCOTLAND.

1706

November: As with elsewhere, anti-Union feeling causes riots in Glasgow.

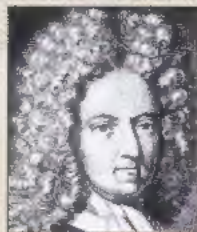
1707

May: Act of Union passed by English parliament.



1709

Daniel Defoe publishes major work of pro-Union propaganda.



In Part 31:
The rise of
Jacobitism

PART OF
IRELAND

North
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PART OF
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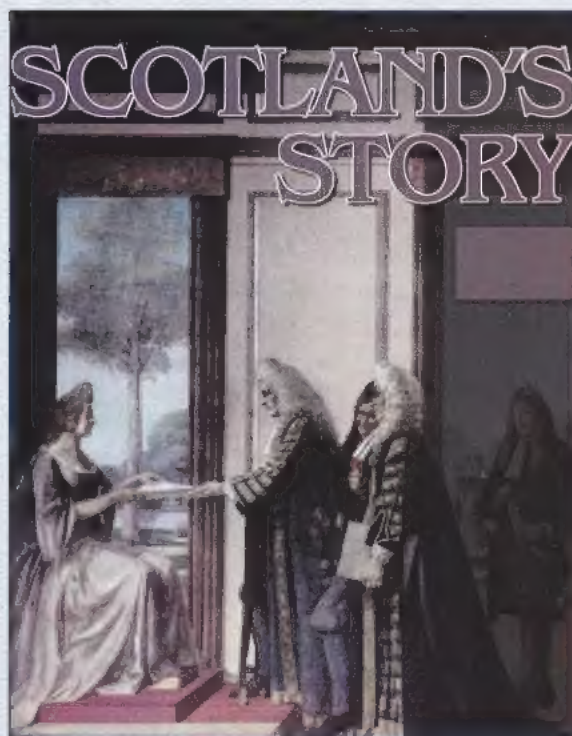
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COVER:
Queen Anne
giving her
assent to the
English Act
of Union.

A dividing line in our history

The Union of 1707 is a hugely significant event in Scotland's story. From one perspective, it cemented a growing Anglo-Scottish relationship, the foundations of which had been laid with the Reformation and the Union of the Crowns in 1603.

The new 'nation-state' of Great Britain created in 1707 guaranteed contractual monarchy, Protestant religion, a free-trade area unrivalled elsewhere in Europe, and co-operative relations between two historically-opposed nations.

Further, Scotland was able to retain its own identity after Union. Presbyterianism, the Scots Privy Council, and independent legal and educational systems saw to that. But this portrayal masks many realities of 1707.

No amount of soft-focusing can hide the fact that England forced Scotland to accept the Union. Nor can it obscure the immediate effects of Union on Scotland — which were catastrophic.

The Scots Privy council was an early casualty. By 1713, Presbyterianism was being undermined, and the Scottish economy hammered. Indeed, for the next 40 years Union had a disastrous effect on Scotland's

economy. Unhappy at the outcome, the Scottish elite were desperately trying to effect its repeal before the ink was barely dry on the Act of Union.

Having annihilated their own parliament, however, they had to argue their case in the English Houses of Parliament — a motion that only came close to success in 1713 because England was negotiating peace with France.

Reversal of this desperate state of affairs was a key component of Jacobitism, but it failed to achieve its aims — as we shall see later. The closure of parliament in Edinburgh was an effective piece of 'realpolitik' on the part of the English ministry — and one that had deep, long-term implications.

Events in the 18th-century demonstrated that, by forcing the removal of this key defence against the assimilation of Scottish society, England had made the task of pacifying, subjugating and Anglicising its subversive northern province far easier.

It is a telling fact that the vast majority of Scottish people were strongly opposed to Union in 1707. Unfortunately for the people, in 1707 the political elite could afford to ignore them.

BITTER END OF AN AULD SCOTS SANG



■ Parliament Hall, Edinburgh, where the Parliament met for nearly 70 years before being adjourned in 1707.

On the streets hostility to the proposed Union was rampant, but the people had no say. All the say belonged to English power, promises and 'Treaty Traitors'

On February 5, 1705, after being forced to accept the Scots' Act of Security, the English parliament retorted with a measure as malicious as its name suggested – the infamous Alien Act. It declared that all Scots, except those resident in England, should be treated as aliens – and Scottish trade with England was to be blocked.

The Act would remain in force until the Scots agreed to appoint commissioners to treat for parliamentary union, or accepted the Hanoverian succession. This ultimatum further weakened the second Marquis of Tweeddale's already-enfeebled Scottish ministry.

The situation drove the New Party, or Squadrone as it was now called, frantic. After pushing the succession without avail, how could they credibly take up a union policy? But Queensberry was by then so out of favour in London – where he was distrusted by the ministry and detested by the Queen – that the English ministry tried to shore up Tweeddale.

But the Scots ministry's truckling to the mob in the affair of 'The Worcester' destroyed its credit. 'The Worcester' was an English ship seized in the Forth by the Company of Scotland.

Captain Green and two of his subordinates were tried for alleged acts of piracy and executed. They were, in fact, innocent, and the furious outcry in England was such

A UNION FLAG IS BORN

The Saltire blue as we know it may have faded on many of the first – and often bizarre – design ideas, but as early as the Union of the Crowns in 1603, the idea of a union flag was being seriously mooted. However, the successful marrying of the crosses of St Andrew and St George did not happen until the Union of 1707, though not in the way Scots may have hoped (left). And the Union Flag we are familiar with was only completed in 1801, when St Patrick's colours were included.



that Tweeddale's ministry could no longer be maintained.

The English ministers were in a quandary as to Tweeddale's successor. In the end, they were obliged to put their trust in the inexperienced Duke of Argyll. Sounded out, he made it clear that he was on the make. He had no interest in politics and simply wished for advancement in his chosen career as a soldier. 'Red John of the Battles' did not accept the commissionership until he was assured of promotion to Major-General, and at the end of the parliamentary session on November 26, 1705, he was further rewarded with an English peerage as Earl of Greenwich.

Meanwhile, Queensberry was demanding payment for past services which, wrote one disgruntled member of the Squadrone, would amount to almost half a year's revenue in Scotland. With so many disaffected politicians in such a divided Scotland, where was Argyll to find support, and what policy could he pursue with any success? There was no set plan. He arrived in Edinburgh with two addresses from the Queen, one recommending the succession to the parliament, the other recommending a treaty.

At the opening of the session on July 3, 1705, he conflated the two addresses



■ **Queen Anne: disgusted when Queensberry joined Argyll's ministry as Lord Privy Seal.**

recommending either the succession or a treaty to be the main aim of the parliament. The peeved Squadrone openly sided with the opposition, making it obvious that the succession policy could not be implemented. As one of the Squadrone leaders put it at the time, "so is Argyle pist upon",

Queensberry, assured of his arrears

of salary, joined Argyll's ministry as Lord Privy Seal, much to Queen Anne's disgust. The opposition was further weakened by the antics of the Duke of Hamilton, who twisted and turned to suit his own ends rather than those of the heterogeneous groups who were gullible enough to look to him for leadership.

Gradually, Argyll saw that the best prospect was that which was finding favour with the English ministry, namely negotiations for a treaty.

But here a point that is often obscured needs to be clarified. Only committed Jacobites were in principle opposed to a treaty, recognising as they did that it would damage the prospects of the Pretender. The Country Party hoped to negotiate a more equitable connection with England and to secure at least free trade. The great aim of Fletcher of Saltoun and his friends was to preserve and reform the constitution of Scotland and free it from interference by the Court. To end the authority of English ministers over Scotland remained Fletcher's dedicated purpose, and in the session of 1705 he called for limitations on the crown. But if union were to be the solution to the Scottish question, the Court would consider nothing short of a complete liquidation of the sovereignty of Scotland. That, however,

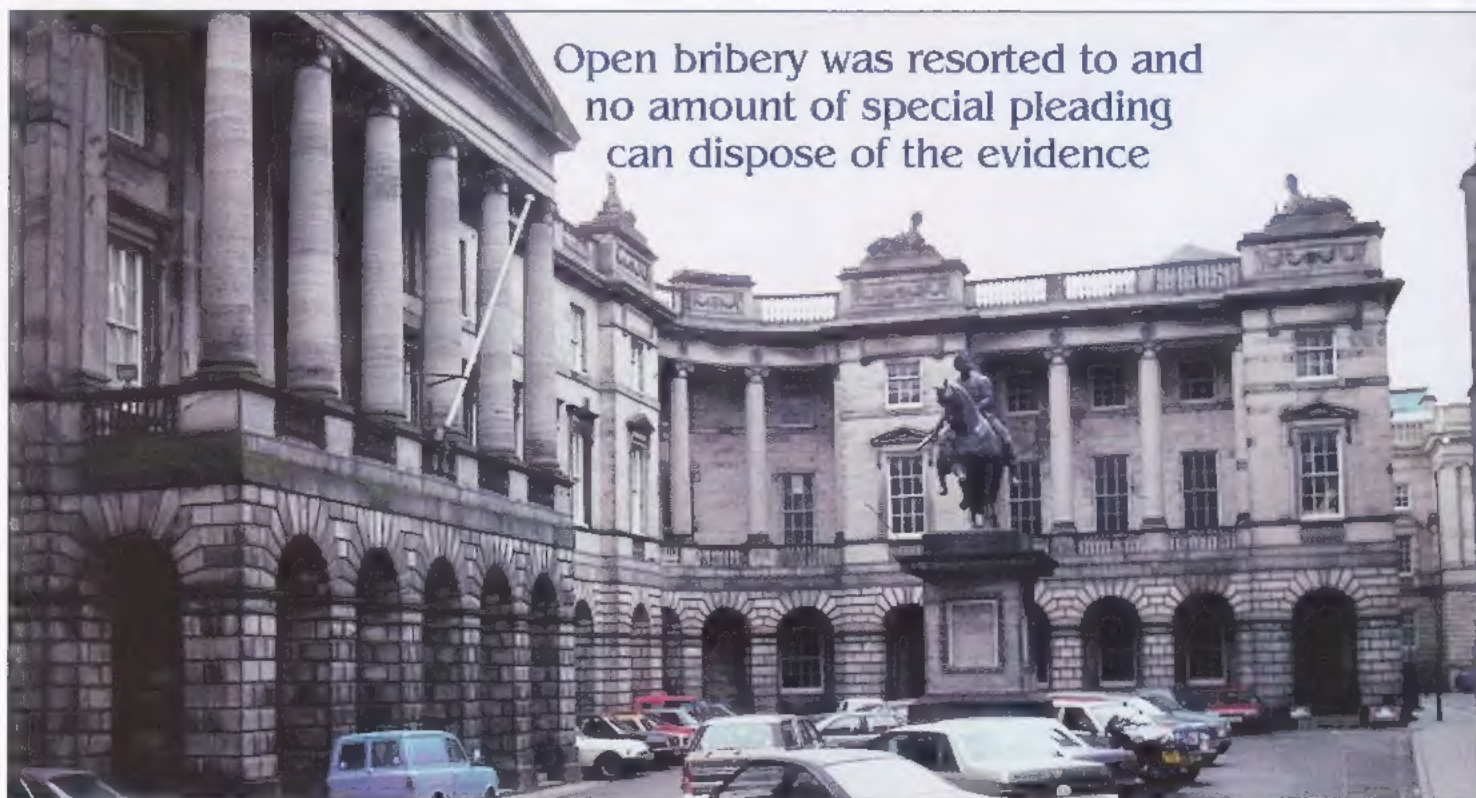
was not emphasised until after the commission to treat had been set up.

The struggle in the Scots parliament in 1705 turned not so much on whether there should be a treaty but on who should negotiate it. When once confronted with the issue, the opposition insisted that parliament as guardian of the nation's rights should nominate the commissioners to treat with their English counterparts.

Precedents for this had been furnished in 1604 and 1689, but in 1670 and 1702 commissioners had been appointed by the crown. If in 1705 commissioners had been elected by the parliament, an incorporating union would have been difficult to attain, but a commission nominated by the crown would have been packed in favour of incorporating union and the demise of the Scottish parliament.

After much wrangling on this, in a thinly-attended house late in the evening of September 1, 1705, Hamilton shocked his allies by moving that nomination should go to the Queen, which in reality meant to the English ministers. In spite of frantic objections from Fletcher and his coterie, the ministry eagerly clinched the matter with a snap vote, winning by a majority of four.

It is still not clear why Hamilton, a notoriously shifty operator, acted as ►



Open bribery was resorted to and no amount of special pleading can dispose of the evidence

■ Now annexed to the High Court in Edinburgh, near St Giles Cathedral, the old parliament building is hidden behind a Georgian facade built in 1794.

► he did. He may have been promised nomination to the commission, but if so he was duped. Of the 31 commissioners appointed, only one – George Lockhart of Carnwath – belonged to the opposition. All the others were supporters of the ministry.

The negotiations for a treaty, which began at Westminster on April 16, 1706, were largely shamolic. The English commissioners made it plain at the outset that it was to be incorporation or nothing. The two crowns were merged to form the imperial crown of Great Britain, the Hanoverian succession was confirmed, and thereafter the only real discussions concerned the Equivalent (the sum to be granted to Scotland to offset the costs of union), taxation and parliamentary representation. The law of Scotland and its courts were to continue, and the rights and privileges of the royal burghs were guaranteed. By the end of July, 1706, the draft treaty was ready for consideration by the two parliaments. Ratification of the treaty depended on acceptance by the two parliaments, and this was where real difficulty was expected.

A furious debate ensued in the Scottish parliament, and quite clearly public opinion in Scotland was very hostile to the treaty. 'Treaty-traitors' became a common taunt. A war of pamphlets broke out with writers like Daniel Defoe and William Paterson arguing that the treaty would at once solve all of Scotland's economic problems, while others like Fletcher



■ Queensberry kept his nerve and steadily pursued his policies.

and James Hodges could see in the proposed union nothing but national annihilation for Scotland. That the public mood was much against union is indisputable, but the general public had no say in the matter. Parliamentary representation was extremely narrow, and the votes in parliament were what counted.

In the last session of the Scottish parliament of 1706-07 heightened

management under Queensberry as commissioner carried the day. All sorts of inducements were held out and found, in most cases, ready acceptance. The evidence for this is overwhelming but has usually been air-brushed out of the picture.

Robert Burns later gave a bitter rendering of the union scene in his 'Such a parcel o' rogues in a Nation'. One instance must suffice here. Argyll,

when asked to leave the army in Flanders and go to Edinburgh to help out the hard-pressed ministry refused to do so until he was assured of further rewards.

Open bribery was resorted to in 1706 and 1707, and no amount of special pleading can dispose of the voluminous evidence to that effect. A master stroke, too, was an Act of Security for the Church of Scotland which guaranteed the continuance of its presbyterian government, and this allayed the widespread fears about a union with prelatical England.

Allied to such largesse and shrewdly emollient measures, firm management gave the treaty a surprisingly easy passage through the Scottish parliament. The likelihood of violent opposition outside parliament came to little because of Hamilton's inactivity. Indeed, Hamilton's mother, the redoubtable Duchess Anne, gave the ministry more cause for concern.

Jacobite plotting was as futile as always. Queensberry kept his nerve and steadily pursued his policies. The treaty was passed by the Scottish parliament on January 16, 1707, had an easy passage through the two houses of the English parliament, got the royal assent on March 6, and became operative on May 1, 1707. 'The end o' an auld sang', as the cynical Chancellor Sealfield had said when the Act of Union passed the Scottish parliament. ●



■ Famed for his 'Robinson Crusoe', Daniel Defoe was also a busy propaganda-purveyor.

Portrait of the author as a spy for the English

While he sent back reports to London from the turmoil that was Edinburgh, the bankrupt pamphleteer Daniel Defoe told Scots they could have total confidence in the proposed Treaty of Union

The fame of Daniel Defoe now rests almost entirely on his novels, especially 'Robinson Crusoe', one of the best-known books ever written. In fact, he turned to novel writing only in the last 10 years of his life when he was in his 60s. You might say that this was survival on his wits. Before that, he had been through bankruptcy and imprisonment and had written millions of words on a great variety of subjects. He was one of the founders of modern journalism, as well as of the novel.

No fewer than 545 titles, ranging from satirical poems and political and religious pamphlets to substantial volumes, have been ascribed to him. For several years he was employed by the English Government as a spy and he was intensely engaged in the promotion of the Treaty of Union.

That was the most remarkable episode in a turbulent life, when he had a key, but secret, role in an important event in circumstances

worthy of one of his own novels.

Defoe was born in London, probably in 1660, in a Presbyterian family of modest means. He was educated for a ministry in the church, but went into trade for which he had a romantic passion. His business ventures were ambitious but finally unsuccessful. By 1692 he was bankrupt and, after that, he was haunted by debt for most of his life, with a wife and seven children to support.

When he first tried to earn his living by his pen, that too landed him in serious trouble. In 1703 he published 'The Short Way With the Dissenters', an ironic attack on the high Tories. He was prosecuted for seditious libel and sentenced to stand three times in the pillory, pay a fine of 200 marks and be detained in prison at the Queen's pleasure.

In this extremity Defoe wrote to William Paterson, The London Scot who proposed both the Bank of England and the Darien Scheme, and who was in the confidence of Robert Hartley, a leading minister in the

English Government.

Not surprisingly in the circumstances, this was an abject appeal for clemency, in which Defoe offered to dedicate his life and powers to the benefactor who would release him. Hartley, aware of Defoe's brilliance as a controversialist, accepted the offer and ordered his release in September, 1703.

Defoe began almost immediately to publish the 'Review', an early periodical, which appeared at first weekly and then three times a week from 1704 to 1713, and was written mostly by him. It was the main mouthpiece of the Government and from the beginning was largely devoted to promoting the incorporating Union with Scotland.

This had become a vital objective of English policy. Since the Union of the Crowns in 1603, Scotland had been kept under political control through the joint monarchy, but was now threatening to escape.

In 1703 and again in 1704 the Scottish Parliament had passed the



Defoe asserted that the only alternative to Union was the bloodiest war ever between the two nations

► Act of Security which called for the restoration of choice of a different monarch to the Parliament itself.

This was a prospect which the English Government was not prepared to tolerate. An independent Scotland might renew its traditional policy of alliance with France, the country with which England was engaged in a long power struggle.

England set about achievement of the Union with an ingenious and

sophisticated battery of policies.

Scotland was brought to the table by threat of economic sanctions. There, it was faced with a demand that it accept a draft treaty which insisted on incorporation but which included provisions designed to appeal to the self-interest of the classes that were represented in the Scottish Parliament.

This was reinforced by bribery and propaganda. The implied alternative was an English invasion

and the imposition of worse terms.

Defoe began his campaign of propaganda, both in the review and in a series of pamphlets, by addressing English opinion.

The Union would end the threat from the north and gain for the English an "inexhaustible treasury of men" and a valuable new market. It would mean a great increase in the power of England.

The only other possible course was the most bloody, implacable and



■ Left: when in 1703 he published 'The Short Way With the Dissenters' – an ironic attack on the English high Tories – Defoe was sentenced to stand three times in the pillory, having been prosecuted for seditious libel. He was also sent to prison.

■ Right: Moubay House, in Edinburgh's High Street, where Defoe lived during his spying time in the capital.



violent demonstrations against the Union. "A Scots rabble," he said, "is the worst of its kind."

Years later, after Defoe himself admitted at least part of the truth, John Clerk of Penicuik, who was a leading supporter of the Union of Parliaments, wrote in his Memoirs: "He was a spy amongst us, but not known as such, otherways the Mob of Edinburgh had pulled him to pieces."

Defoe had, however, one great asset; he was a Presbyterian who had suffered persecution in England for his beliefs. Probably for this reason, he was able to ingratiate himself so successfully that he was soon an adviser to parliamentary committees and the Assembly of the Church. He told Hartley that he was "privy to all their folly", but "perfectly unsuspected as corresponding with anybody in England."

He was even able to influence the proposals that were put to parliament.

He reported to Hartley: "Having had the honour to be always sent for the committee to whom these amendments were referred, I have had the good fortune to break their measures in two particulars via the Bounty on Corn and proportion of the Excise."

He continued too with his propaganda, still writing his Review and a new series of pamphlets; while for Scottish consumption he used quite different arguments, even the opposite, from those he had used in England. In particular, ignoring the English doctrine of the sovereignty of Parliament, he told the Scots that they could have complete confidence in the guarantees in the Treaty.

Since the British Parliament would

be created by the Treaty, it could not violate it without destroying the foundation of its own existence.

Some of his pamphlets purported to have been written by Scots. They continue to mislead even reputable historians who have been known to quote them as evidence of the Scottish opinion at the time. The same is true of a massive History of the Union which Defoe published in 1709 and which historians have often accepted as a reliable contemporary account.

Defoe does take pains to give it an air of objectivity. He gives some space to the arguments against the Union, but always has the last word.

He disposes of the most formidable opponent, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, by simply ignoring him. Nor does he say anything about the deviousness of the Duke of Hamilton who was the official leader of the opposition but acted against them at several decisive stages in the debate.

He makes no attempt to explain why the same Scottish Parliament which was so assertive of Scottish independence from 1703 to 1705 became so supine in 1706.

It is typical of the lack of generosity of governments that Defoe received very little reward and, of course, no recognition for his services. He did, however, make use of his Scottish experiences in yet another book, his 'Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain', published in 1727.

Here he admitted that the increase of trade and population in Scotland, which he had predicted as a consequence of the Union, was "not the case, but rather the contrary". ●

cruel war that had ever happened between the nations, England's strength had increased so that it would be able to crush Scotland; but a war could always have unforeseen consequences.

In September 1706, when the three-month debate in the Scottish Parliament on the Treaty was about to begin, Hartley ordered Defoe to Edinburgh as a secret agent.

There he was to do everything possible to help to secure acquiescence

in the Treaty. Since many of his reports have survived and have been published (The Letters of Daniel Defoe, edited by G H Healey, Oxford, 1955), we know far more about Defoe's activities than is usual with secret missions. He was very conscious of the risks attendant to the possible discovery of his real objective.

Popular feeling against the Treaty and those who made it was very strong. His first letters from Edinburgh had vivid descriptions of

Who was where in the

As mobs stormed pro-Union big wigs, Scotland's first parliament was seen off by buyable figures, weak opposition and the astute work of English politicians

The intense political debates and conflicts over the controversial nature of the Treaty of Union provided an opportunity for many of the leading Scottish magnates to exert their political and social status in early 18th century Edinburgh. Parliament Square, the 'Royal Mile' and the surrounding taverns became a social catwalk for the leading politicians in Scottish life. The Edinburgh mob, at best lively and often riotous, applauded those politicians who they thought would 'save' Scotland from the unpopular union.

James Douglas, fourth Duke of Hamilton, the supposed leader of the opposition, met every night a "great number of apprentices and younger sort of people from the Parliament House to the Abbey".

The Jacobite George Lockhart of Carnwath, the only anti-unionist member of the Scottish diplomatic contingent which negotiated the treaty in the summer of 1706, left a lively account of political life in Edinburgh during this period.

Lockhart enthusiastically described how Parliament House and nearby closes were "crowded every day when the Parliament was met with an infinite number of people, all exclaiming against the Union and speaking very free language concerning the promoters of it".

Pro-unionists and court politicians were subjected to hostile treatment from the anti-union mob and were often jostled, harassed and assaulted as they made their way from their

■ Odd behaviour prompted by self-interest: supposed opposition leader James Douglas, fourth Duke of Hamilton.

first Battle of Britain



■ James Ogilvie, first Earl of Seafield: he argued for the trade and security advantages of Union.

Edinburgh lodgings to the boathouse of Parliament meeting for the last time on October 3, 1706

The Queen's Commissioner for holding the last session of Parliament, James Douglas, second Duke of Queensberry, was particularly unpopular and his carriage was often jostled as it made its way up the High Street to Parliament House

One of the leading local politicians

in Edinburgh, Sir Patrick Johnston, was attacked in his house by a mob armed with 'forehammers'. Johnston was one of the MPs for the burgh of Edinburgh and had served as Lord Provost in 1700-02 and 1704-06. He may well have been attacked because he was easily identifiable as a local big wig, but it is also interesting to note that he had served in the abortive union negotiations of 1702

as well as the 1706 negotiations. The experience of the attack appears to have terrified him and he did not turn up for the parliamentary vote to ratify the Treaty

Magnates played an important role in the union debates and securing the passage of the Treaty through Parliament. Commissioner Queensberry and Chancellor James Ogilvie, first Earl of Seafield, were

important in the final thrust of Scottish politics towards the union in Scotland. In 1701, as unionist, Seafield moved to the assembly in Scotland on October 3. On the first day of the parliamentary session, in his speech, he stressed the advantages of an incorporation with England at this time. "There must be of great Advantage to this Island Unite under one Government, and conjoynd entirely in Interest and Affection, having Equality of all Rights and Privileges with a free Communication and Intercourse of Trade, which must certainly Establish our Security Augment our Strength, and Increase our Trade and Riches"

A crucial role was also played by John Campbell, second Duke of Argyll. His was a particularly influential role as Commissioner to the crucial 1705 session of Parliament, which decided that Queen Anne and not the Scottish Parliament should nominate the commissioners to negotiate a union

As a result of this decision, only one of the Scottish negotiators, George Lockhart of Carnwath, did not belong to the pro union camp.

Argyll was a young and ambitious Scottish magnate and soldier. He had entered the army in 1694 and had served in Flanders in 1702. But it was heaved that he was a front man for Queensberry, who was very unpopular with the Queen at this time with a reputation as a double-dealer and untrustworthy politician out to promote his own interest

However, the securing of the political clout of the House of Argyll, and the Campbells as an important political network in the Highlands was crucial for the court

The House of Argyll had considerable influence among the Presbyterians due to its family heritage. Archibald Campbell, the eighth Earl and first Marquis of Argyll, had been the leading Presbyterian Covenanter in Scotland in the 1640s, for example. Lockhart of Carnwath, himself a childhood friend and acquaintance of Argyll, commented scathingly that Argyll was used by Queensberry "as the monkey did the cat in pulling out the hot roasted chestnuts"

Argyll's appointment as High



■ The only anti-Union member of the Scottish diplomatic contingent which negotiated the treaty the Jacobite George Lockhart of Carnwath

added that the "Duke of Argyll is so useful to us that wee al agreed that he might expend his brothers patent when he pleased".

Secretary Mar was also forceful in his opinion that the passing of the Act of Union in the Scottish Parliament was down to Argyll's influence. For example, Argyll was a member of the vital committee for examining the calculation of the Equivalent. Its membership was made up mainly by the Squadron Volante, but Argyll would have had the opportunity to work on them politically during the committee meetings. Argyll was at times politically flamboyant and could often act as a confident political extrovert in the last Parliament. As anti union petitions flooded in to the Edinburgh Parliament, his response was to publicly make them in to paper kites and fly them round the Parliament, thus showing a public disregard for their content and also intimidating the opposition while raising the spirits of the Court party.

One of the key magnates whose political behaviour in the Union affair was somewhat bizarre was the Duke of Hamilton, leader of the opposition Country party. He had been a leading opponent of an incorporating union, yet on September 1, 1705, he stood up in Parliament and moved that the commissioners for negotiating a union treaty should be nominated by Queen Anne. This proved to be crucial, as the motion was seized upon by the court interest and the Scottish commissioners were dominated by pro-unionists. This has perplexed historians ever since, but it appears that Hamilton acted out of pure self-interest, believing that he would be appointed as a negotiator (which did not happen). He was heavily in debt and worried about the future of his English estates and economic interests in Lancashire. He also appears to have been involved in organising an armed uprising based on Covenanters in the south-west and Jacobite Highlanders, but got cold feet and cancelled the enterprise.

In early January, 1707, he was a leading figure in organising a Protestation to be presented to Queen Anne which would protest at an incorporating union. People signing this would then refuse to acknowledge and accept the new British Parliament. When push came to shove, however, Hamilton again took cold feet and failed to turn up at Parliament because he had toothache! Time after time, he failed to deliver for the opposition when

► Commissioner was politically successful and he had therefore gained an important objective in securing the Queen's right to appoint the negotiating commissioners. Indeed, his political skills were praised by the English Earl of Hardwicke when he observed that Argyll "managed well for the Court, and was from the beginning zealous for the Union".

Argyll returned to continental Europe on military service to serve under Marlborough, but his political

skills and clout were in demand again in the summer of 1706. His brother, Lord Archibald Campbell, had been appointed as one of the treaty negotiators, thereby ensuring that the interest of the House of Argyll was maintained.

In correspondence with the Earl of Mar, one of the architects of the union in Scotland and Secretary of State, Argyll was blunt and to the point about what he wanted in return. "I shall pay the Queen as faithfully as any body can doe; but if

her ministers thinks it for her service to employ me any longer I doo think the proposall should be treated with an offer of reward."

Argyll received the commission of Major General as a result of this plea and was pressing for his brother to be granted the title of earl. The support of the Argyll brothers was crucial to the union cause and was recognised by Seafield when he noted that "it is certaine necessarie to keep them right at present".

In October, 1706, Seafield further



'Argyll managed well for the Court,' said the English earl, 'and was from the beginning zealous for the union'

his cards were called, and as the patsy of the union debate was worked over political astute court politicians, Argyll and Queensberry. His weakness was seen as a patsy for the Court party which focused objective in securing the Union by whatever means.

John Murray, second Marquis of Atholl, an important Highland magnate, emerged as a man of principle who stuck to his guns over his opposition to the Union. He played an important role in organising opposition protests to be signed by anti Union MPs in the House.

From the perspective of English politics, the trio of Lord Treasurer Godolphin, Secretary of State Robert Harley, and John Churchill first Duke of Marlborough, Commander-in Chief of the British armed forces in the Spanish Succession War, were collectively at the forefront in securing the Union.

The English Triennial Act of 1694 had meant regular elections and the growing emergence of a Whig versus Tory factional rivalry in England.

The 1705 election there resulted in a Whig majority in the Commons and the Treaty was negotiated on the English side by a Whig 'junta'.

The Whigs were also committed to a pro-war position in the War of

the Spanish Succession and therefore wanted to secure England's northern border. Their pro Union stance can be explained by a more practical consideration. If the Whigs could finally control Scottish MPs coming to a new British Parliament at Westminster, this would give them a Commons majority over Tory MPs. Godolphin and Marlborough kept a close watch over Scottish MPs, 1703-1707, especially fears of a Jacobite invasion and strategic security in a major European war. The fact that they managed to secure the Hanoverian Succession and the passing of the Treaty of Union through the Scottish Parliament in the face of public opposition and rioting was an important political achievement. Marlborough was in contact with James O'Brien, former Secretary of State for Scotland, 1692-1696, and Lord George Ker, 1704-1705. He was also a member in the Squadrone Volante. Marlborough was urging anti-Tory MPs to persuade the other Squadrone members to support the union. Johnston has been based mainly in London and as the crisis over constitutional nationalism progressed in 1703-1704, he was in touch with the main men in the Squadrone Volante back home – men such as George Baillie of Jerviswood,

■ He bluntly demanded reward for employment of his negotiating skills and clout: John Campbell, second Duke of Argyll.

one of the MPs for Lanarkshire in the Union Parliament. In the winter of 1704 Johnston informed Jerviswood of the importance of issues of strategic security during the Spanish Succession War and the general feeling in London. Accordingly, Johnston noted that "it was said, you and your independence are not so great but that you must depend either on France or England, and sure they will not suffer you to depend on France, if they can help it".

In the winter of 1706, Marlborough and Godolphin kept a watchful eye over events in Scotland as the Treaty was debated and voted on article by article in Parliament. They were particularly worried about mob violence and civil unrest and Godolphin informed Marlborough that "the mob is uneasy at the Union in Scotland, and has been very unruly, the majority in the Parliament for it is so great, that they begin to find it cannot be resisted but by tumult and open force".

Godolphin was worried by the strength of the mob. "I hope they won't prove the strongest." He informed Marlborough of the precaution of moving troops to the north of England and Ireland "if there were a real occasion".

For many of the leading personalities in the Union crisis, political careers did not simply end in 1707 with the resolution of the Union issue. Many leading magnates had exerted political muscle over what they envisaged for Scotland's future well-being and retention and extension of their own family interests. For the Whig junta, however, a major political victory had been won. James Johnston noted that in London "the Whig Lords indulge themselves mightily in vilifying the Scottish Nobility for their part in the Union".

Johnston went on to comment on the motives of some of those Scots involved, noting that "I can scarcely persuade anybody that some have done it out of love for their country".

Such an allegation would reappear later in the 18th century with Robert Burns's famous comment that the Scots had been bought and sold for English gold. ●

TIMELINE

1702

'Britain' joins 'Grand Alliance' against France; beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession.

1704

August: Allied force led by Marlborough defeats French forces at Blenheim.

1705

March: English Alien Act says Scotland should be treated as foreign nation if it 'breaks' the regal union.

1705

September: Duke of Hamilton's U-turn, urging appointment of Union commissioners.

1705-7

Massive sustained opposition to Union among Scottish people results in civil unrest.

1706

April: Union commissioners convene at Whitehall, London.

1706

June: Allied force takes Madrid after defeating French at Ramillies. England increasingly determined to remove threat of 'Franco-Scottish' alliance.

1707

January: Intense debate ends with Scottish Parliament ratifying Union Treaty. Act passed securing Presbyterian Church in Scotland.

1707

May: English Parliament passes Treaty; Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland.

1709

Daniel Defoe publishes his 'History', a major work of pro-Union propaganda.

THE PEOPLE'S EMPHATIC 'NO' TO THE UNION

Inside Parliament, Jacobites and Country Party opponents of Union fanned the flames of unrest outside it. It wasn't too difficult. Fuelled by the mob's anger, the fire spread quickly

There is no doubt that, had a referendum been held in 1706, most Scots would have said 'No' to union with England. The extent of opposition is hard to judge exactly, but even pro unionists admitted that as many as eight or nine out of 10 Scots disliked the proposal. Anti-Union petitions flooded into Edinburgh, but less than a handful were sent in favour.

Another clue to the unpopularity of the proposed union was the flood of pamphlets which appeared in 1705 and 1706. There were pro-Union pamphlets too, but they had less of the range and passion of the anti-unionists. There were deep concerns about the loss of Scottish sovereignty which would follow from an incorporating union, and fears that Scotland would be humiliated and even enslaved by England.

Some writers were virulently anti-English in content and tone, as in 'A Pill for Pork-Eaters' or 'A Scots Lancet for an English Swelling', published in 1705.

Publications of this sort caught the mood of the times. So too did poems and songs such as 'Verses on

the Scots Peers', the last lines of which ran:

*Let all true Scots be bold
Important be
That the new act rest on
liberties,
That he who rules the throne
kings alone*

May settle James at length upon the throne

Pro-Jacobite sentiment was still strong in Scotland, even though it had been at least 15 years since James VII had fled to be replaced by King William. In the Highlands, Gaelic bards such as Ian Lom wrote laments about the departure of James and the passage of the Union.

More common, however, were pamphlets and broadsheets which dealt with religion. The fear was that union with England might bring a return of episcopacy and the end of Presbyterianism. More extreme writers were convinced that Scotland would lose its status as God's chosen nation and that union would allow English religious 'errors' and sinfulness to spread into Scotland.

An even better guide to the feelings of the nation were the actions of the people. On May 1

1707, when the Union came into effect, 'great Rejoicings' were reported in London, where massive crowds turned out, and a thanksgiving service was held at St Paul's cathedral.

In Edinburgh, by contrast, the streets were silent. Indeed, on Queen Anne's birthday in February, 1707, when it was usual for spectacular celebrations to be held at the cross, the Scottish nobility, many of whom had supported the Union, had not dared to appear in public, "for fear of a mob".

Their concern was understandable. Daniel Defoe, better known for his novel 'Robinson Crusoe', was working in Edinburgh as a pro-Union secret English agent in 1706. He had been amazed at the anger displayed by the crowds which gathered as the Articles of Union were discussed in the Scottish Parliament.

He had watched as they had marched up the High Street, led by a drummer, shouting, swearing and crying "no Union, no Union, English dogs" and the like. Unsurprisingly, he informed his London masters that the "Scottish rabble" was "the worst of its kind". The Scots were "a

hardened...and terrible people".

Late in October only the intervention of the army stopped violent protest from getting out of hand. Stones were thrown, windows broken and doors smashed, while supporters of union, such as the Lord Provost, Patrick Johnston, were mobbed and intimidated. Even Parliament House itself had been threatened.

Later, on November 18, the Duke of Queensberry, the Queen's Commissioner, was attacked and his servants beaten and injured. On the other hand, the treatment meted out to the Duke of Hamilton, acclaimed in public as the leader of opposition to union in Parliament, was very





different. According to one witness he was "huzzed and conveyed very Night, with a great Number of Apprentices and younger Sort of People", who begged him to "stand by the Country," and assured him of their support.

It was not only in Edinburgh that the Scottish mob was up in arms. The Articles were publicly burnt in Dumfries, Kirkcudbright and Stirling. The county of Lanarkshire and the great city of Glasgow were also strongly anti-Union areas from which it was reported that anybody who was "sober, or moderatt is in hazard of his life, if he do not speak against the union".

There were potent rumours, too,

of an armed rising in the south west in a planned march on Edinburgh. The Duke of Atholl was also rumoured to be raising his men in Perthshire. Such was the fear of insurrection that both in the burghs and at the open country Council level, the authorities were determined to keep the peace. Proscriptions against meetings, assemblies and armaments were passed and enforced. In some towns there were nightly curfews. Arrests were made and permission was given to the magistrates, town guards, militias and soldiers to use all necessary force to crush dissent.

The task of the armed forces was not an easy one, being subject to flattery, bribes and ultimately taunts

of being disloyal to Scotland, as efforts were made to get them to lay down their arms. There were also members of Parliament who, although reluctant to rouse the mob publicly, were content to let the situation get out of control, and so delay the parliamentary process.

Opposition to the Union came from all quarters. The Jacobites, supporters of King James VII, were among the most passionate recognising that, once agreed, the union would make it virtually impossible for a Stuart monarch to sit on the British throne. Instead, the Hanoverian succession would be secured. Jacobites in Parliament fought diligently to block the

Articles and more. Another tactic was to amend them so that they would be unacceptable to the English.

By drawing attention to and condemning the higher levels of taxation which union would bring, they roused public anxiety. Deliberately exaggerating their effects and raising the fears of ordinary people, Jacobites and Country Party opponents of union inside Parliament fanned the fires of unrest outside it.

Much of the popular protest was directed against taxation. It was little wonder, as on average Scottish wages for unskilled workers were less than half of those in the south of ►



DIFFERENCES OVER THE REIGN IN SPAIN



■ John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough, at Blenheim as Commander in Chief of 'British' armed forces.

Spain's War of Succession was more than just a diversion as the terms of the Union were thrashed out. Power-hungry England had an eye on Europe's vital politics

The Union of 1707 was secured during a period of major European warfare the War of the Spanish Succession, which broke out in 1702 and was not resolved until 1714 with a general European peace settlement, the Peace of Utrecht

The war broke out due to fears among the European powers of the potential unification of the French and Spanish monarchies through Philip V, the grandson of Louis XIV. Political conflict had broken out over who should succeed to the Spanish throne after the death of Carlos II of Spain in 1700

Carlos was physically repulsive and a product of in-breeding within the Habsburg dynasty. As a result of his handicaps and unattractiveness, he remained unmarried and had no heirs to his throne. The French had a claim to the Spanish succession through Louis XIV's wife, Maria Theresa, the daughter of an earlier king of Spain, Philip IV (who died in 1665). However, the powerful Holy Roman Emperor also had a claim to the succession.

A political deal appeared to have been struck in 1698-1699 which seemed to solve the Spanish Succession problem. This stated that the Spanish Empire was to be



■ Scene of a famous victory from the Blenheim tapestry: General Tallard of the French forces surrendering to the Duke of Marlborough in 1704.

divided between the r... and Austrian Habsbur... the throne, and the middle struck the deal was... who had succee... England and Scot...

Louis XIV reneged after the death of Carlos's wif... for Carlos's wif... Spanish Empire w... and that Philip of Anjou, I... grandson, was to incl...

Louis endorsed the Europe exploded into w... with the English minists in London determined to maintain the... of power' in Europe

Following the death of James VII and II in September 1701 in exile France, Louis XIV had recognised James VIII and III as the monarch in the British Isles. This gave a further impetus for the defeat of France and increased uncertainty over the monarchy in Scotland in the early 18th century as long as the Scottish Parliament refused to confirm the Hanoverian Succession.

It was therefore unacceptable that Scotland and England should have different monarchs, and a Jacobite restoration in Scotland was to be avoided at all costs.

During the second half of the 17th century French foreign policy had

been openly aggressive and sought to extend France's sphere of influence in continental Europe. From 1648 (the date of the last major European conflict, the Thirty Years' War) to 1713 there were 22 wars in Europe. France was directly involved in seven of these and was the open aggressor in five of them.

By the late 17th century, the European powers were also involved in an 'arms race' with an increase in armies and navies and development of military technology. France emerged as the 'superpower' of the day and wanted to expand its political and territorial influence in continental Europe. In turn, this aroused fears among other powers of French dominance, and anti-French coalitions were established in the late 17th century to try to check French expansion.

The introduction of conscription in France in 1688 had allowed for a major expansion in the French army, with a conscript militia providing 350,000 men during the Spanish Succession War as a whole.

England had also emerged as a formidable military power. The Royal Navy had been expanded to include over 40,000 sailors and the number of ships rose from 173 in 1688 to 247 in 1714. The size of the

army increased to more than 90,000 men during the War of the Spanish Succession.

In common with the other European powers, most of the income of the European states was used to fund military expansion. This kind of development absorbed huge amounts of money and the War of the Spanish Succession was the most expensive war England had ever been involved in. It has been estimated that over £100 million sterling was spent on warfare by the English state between 1689 and 1713.

Despite these huge costs, England did not bankrupt itself through the conduct of warfare and was able to afford such high levels of military commitments. In short, England had the cash to fight in major European wars and was a formidable power in terms of the size of its forces.

These were important issues for Scottish politicians to bear in mind with the Union crisis in Scotland in the early 18th century. England had the military might to impose a political settlement on Scotland, should it decide to do so.

Important military victories over the French took place at crucial points during the Union crisis in Scotland. A clash at the Battle of

Malaga in 1704, the only full-scale naval engagement of the conflict, emphasised the naval superiority of the Royal Navy. Military confidence was further raised by the occupation of the Rock of Gibraltar and a famous land victory at the Battle of Blenheim one month later.


Victory at Blenheim, under John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough and Commander-in-Chief of the 'British' armed forces – so called because a section of the Scottish elite also supported the campaign – was a landmark for the emergence of 'Britain' as a major European power. Crucially, Marlborough's victory at Ramillies in May, 1706, swept the French from the Spanish Netherlands.

For leading politicians in London, especially Sidney, first Earl of Godolphin, Lord Treasurer, and Secretary of State Robert Harley, the Union crisis in Scotland was a domestic irritation which had to be solved. Harley, Godolphin and Marlborough all shared a common objective, namely, securing the Hanoverian succession in Scotland and securing England's northern border from a potential Franco-Jacobite attack.

The war in Europe, not Scotland, was where their main political focus lay. ●



Getting practical on



Queen Anne shown – in a painting by Sir Walter Monnington – receiving the 25 Articles of the Treaty of Union.

The pinning down of the detail – in the form of 25 Articles – created a treaty document that was to be argued over passionately

In April, 1706, commissioners from Scotland and England met in London to discuss the terms of parliamentary union. They agreed on 25 articles which were presented to the Queen. These were then debated and amended by the Scots parliament between November, 1706, and January, 1707, when the Union was passed by a majority of 43.

The articles were passed without amendment by the English parliament and the Union came into effect on May 1, 1707. A separate act in January, 1707, secured the position of the Church of Scotland.

These articles and this act make up what is often called the Treaty, or Act, of Union. They are **I. The Two Kingdoms of Scotland and England shall be United into One Kingdom by the Name of Great Britain; the Crosses of St Andrew and St George be conjoined and used in all Flags.**

The first article was the essence of the Union. Scotland and England were joined into one kingdom – Great Britain. Many Scots would have preferred a federal union, where they retained some degree of independence, but England insisted on an incorporating union. A Union flag, combining the national flags of both countries, was to be produced.

II. The Succession to the Monarchy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain be the Princess Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and the Heirs of Her body, being Protestants.

The Union settled the dispute over who should succeed Queen Anne, the last Stuart monarch. When England decided on the Hanoverian line in 1701, Scotland had threatened to nominate a different monarch. This article agreed the protestant Hanoverian succession and excluded Catholics from the throne.

III. The United Kingdom of Great Britain be represented by one and the same Parliament to be stiled the Parliament of Great Britain.

Any hopes of retaining a Scottish parliament within the Union were dashed. Both parliaments were joined to form the parliament of Great Britain.

IV. All the Subjects of the United Kingdom of Great Britain shall have full Freedom of ►

togetherness



■ Moment when Scotland's story of independence changed radically. Queen Anne giving her assent to the English Act of Parliament ratifying the Treaty.

► Trade and Navigation within the United Kingdom and Dominions.

This met the Scots' main demand that they should have the same trade as Eng. and The Union gave them legal access to lucrative markets in the colonies. Lack of access had led to the disastrous attempt to set up a Scottish trading colony in Darien. This article got the strongest support in the Union debate in the Union debate in the Scots parliament – only 19 voted against it.

V. All vessels of Scotland, though foreign built, be deemed as ships of the build of Great Britain.

The freedom of trade arrangements allowed all Scots-owned ships, regardless of where they were built, to have equal rights under the English Navigation Acts. Scotland had very few home-built ships and relied on Dutch-built vessels.

VI. All parts of the United Kingdom shall have the same Regulations of Trade and Customs and Duties of Import and Export.

Customs and excise duties were unified, with the English system being extended to Scotland. The Scots did not appreciate the new, rigorous approach to collecting customs duties and took to smuggling with gusto.

VII. All parts of the United Kingdom be liable to the same Excises upon all Excisable Liquors; the Excise settled in England (to) take place throughout the

whole United Kingdom.

The Union settled a unified excise, equalising duties on alcohol, with a few exceptions. The rate was the English rate, which was higher than in Scotland. One exception to the new duty was Scottish twopenny ale. This was one of the objections to Union – that it would raise the price of beer in Scotland.

VIII. Scotland shall for the space of seven Years be Exempted from paying in Scotland for Salt made there the Duties now payable for Salt made in England.

This article gave temporary protection to Scotland's salt industry. All home produced salt was free of tax for seven years. Salt was a staple commodity – essential for preserving meat – and exemptions from higher duties were considered. Scottish merchants increased taxes on basic commodities.

IX. Whenever the sum of £1,997,763 be raised in England by a Land Tax, Scotland shall be charged £48,000 free of all Charges as the Quota of Scotland to such Tax.

The commissioners set up a fair system of direct taxation for two widely differing economies. The relative wealth of England and Scotland was reckoned to be about 40:1, so when Eng. and raised £2million in land tax, Scotland's equivalent contribution was to be £48,000, reflecting the widely differing economies of the

and south of the border.

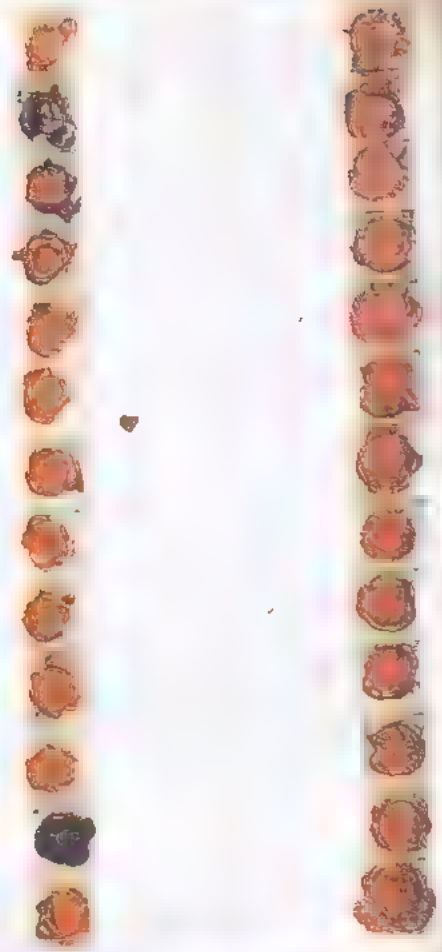
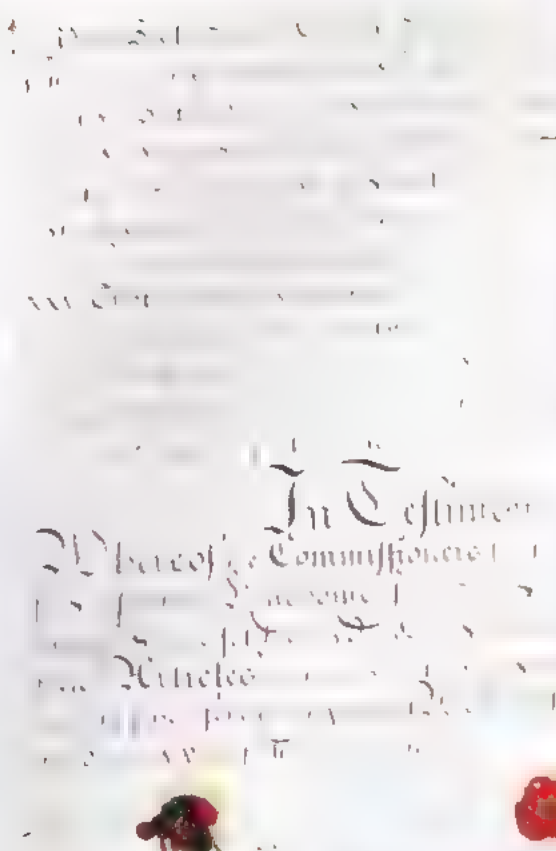
X to XIV. These articles gave the Scots exemption from duties on commodities that were being temporarily taxed in England during the War of the Spanish Succession – stamped paper and parchment, windows and coal. Malt was exempted until the end of the War of the Spanish Succession. **XV. Scotland shall have an Equivalent towards payment of the Debts of England the sum of £398,085 10s.**

By a sum known as the Equivalent, Scotland was compensated for taking on part of England's national debt. The Equivalent was used to recompense shareholders in the Darien company, pay the Scottish crown's debts (mainly arrears of salary to crown officials and army officers), encourage Scotland's textile and fishing industries and compensate for losses from the standardisation of coinage.

XVI. The Coin shall be of the same value, throughout the United Kingdom, as now in England.

The currencies of both countries were standardised on the English system. This should have ended the Scots pound, which at the time was valued at just one-twelfth of the pound sterling. However, the pound Scots continued as a local currency until the 18th century and old Scots coins remained in circulation for some years.

XVII. The same Weights and Measures shall



Other significant signatures on the document. Among Scots who signed the Act of Union were the Duke of Queensberry and the Earl of Mar.

be used throughout the United Kingdom, as are now established in England.

The Union attempted by this to standardise the systems of weights and measures on the English system, but Scottish measures lingered on until the 19th century.

XVIII. The Laws concerning Trade Customs and Excise be the same in Scotland as in England; the Laws concerning publick Right may be made the same throughout the whole United Kingdom, but no alteration be made in Laws which concern private Right, except for the evident utility of the subjects within Scotland.

Along with the following article, this ensured that Scotland's separate legal system was maintained. The Union preserved Scotland's laws on private rights, while providing for unified laws on customs, excise and trade. It also ensured that public law in both countries could be assimilated.

XIX. The Court of Session, the Court of Justiciary, remain in all time coming within Scotland; no Causes in Scotland be cognisable by the Courts of Chancery or any other Court in Westminster-hall.

Scotland's courts were maintained. Appeals from Scottish courts to English ordinary courts were forbidden, but there was no specific ban on appeals to the House of Lords. Although this article permitted the continuing of the

While the currencies of both countries were standardised on the English system, Scots copper coins lingered on for some years

Scottish Privy Council, it was abolished in 1708.

XX. All heritable offices, Superiorities, heritable Jurisdictions be reserved to the Owners thereof, as Rights of Property.

The preservation of Scotland's heritable jurisdictions (private courts) maintained landowners' feudal rights of jurisdiction over their tenants. Most of these rights were abolished after the 1745 Jacobite rising.

XXI. Rights and Privileges of the Royall Burroughs in Scotland... Do Remain entire.

The Union maintained the ancient privileges of Scotland's royal burghs. However, the erosion of their trade monopolies was well under way by 1707. The burgh reforms of 1833 and 1846 ended burgh councils' electoral and trading privileges.

XXII. Of the Peers of Scotland Sixteen shall... Sit and Vote in the House of Lords, and Forty five the number of the

Representatives of Scotland in the House of Commons.

Scottish representation in the united parliament was set at 16 peers in the House of Lords and 45 MPs in the Commons, compared to England's 190 peers and 513 MPs. The Commissioners settled on these figures after considering the relative incomes, rather than populations, of both countries.

XXIII. The foresaid Sixteen Peers of Scotland shall have all Privileges of Parliament which the Peers of England now have; all Peers of Scotland shall after the Union be Peers of Great Britain.

The Scots peers in the Lords were granted the same privileges as their English counterparts. The Union created the peerage of Great Britain, with equal rights for Scots and English peers, including exemption from imprisonment for debt.

XXIV. There shall be One Great Seal for the United Kingdom of Great Britain...

A seal of Great Britain was to be used for United Kingdom matters, but Scotland retained her own seal for Scottish grants. Symbols of nationhood – the Honours of Scotland and the national archives – were to remain in Scotland.

XXV. All Laws... inconsistent with these Articles... shall after the Union cease and become void.

Any previous acts which contradicted the Union were repealed. ●

How could poor old Scotland lose out?

Some argued that a 'union of trade' was worth sacrificing 'phantom' power for

Scots landowners, merchants and politicians lacked nothing in terms of ambition and enterprise in the 17th century. Like the Dutch, the Spaniards, the French and the English, Scots had done all they could to increase their nation's wealth by expanding trade overseas.

But this was the age of 'mercantilism', which meant that powerful nations tried to keep others away from their markets and raw material supplies by naval might. The Spaniards had been determined from 1698 to drive the Scots from Darien, which was too close for comfort to Portobello, one of the main ports of the Spanish South American empire through which they obtained their precious silver. Tariff barriers were raised throughout Europe to keep out goods sent from rival countries by making them more expensive.

Scotland was a small country, weak and lacking naval protection. The Scottish navy in 1700 comprised two frigates. The hulls had been borrowed from England. The vessels bought for the Darien venture had come from Dutch yards. Scottish merchant ships were being seized and plundered by enemy privateers. Ships from Scottish ports and their crews even risked capture when they entered English ports.

At the turn of the 18th century, Scotland was on the verge of bankruptcy - a 'poor Antient Matron in Rags', according to one writer of the time. Government employees' salaries were unpaid. With its

economy in decline from the 1680s, it was difficult to see how things could be improved.

A 'union of trade' with England was something the Scots had long wanted. And some Scottish MPs saw that the union on offer in 1706 gave Scots freedom not only to sell goods in England but also in England's growing overseas empire. This included North America and the West Indies, from which tobacco and sugar could also be shipped to Scotland. Article IV of the union treaty, which gave Scots free trade, was approved by a huge majority in the Scottish Parliament. There were only 19 votes against.

Of course trade runs in both directions, and many Scots feared that England's better-quality goods would swamp Scotland. To deal with such concerns, several of the Articles of Union were altered to protect certain Scottish industries, such as coal mining and salt panning. Though in principle tax levels in both countries after 1707 were to be equal, the Scots argued successfully against paying high English taxes on items such as beer and salt, used to season everyday foods like porridge and oatcakes.

The Acts of Union - there were two of them - also guaranteed the independence of the Church of Scotland, and the future of the Scottish universities, the legal system and the burghs. To join forces with a bigger neighbour country was common elsewhere in Europe at this time. The number of independent states in Europe fell

SCOTLAND'S Great Advantages BY AN UNION with ENGLAND: Shewn in a LETTER From the COUNTRY To a Member of PARLIAMENTS

By James Ogilvie

Printed in the Year MDCCVI.

■ PRO: contemporary pamphlet promotes great 'advantages' of Union.

from around 1,000 to 350 between the 14th and 18th centuries. As William Seton of Pitmedden, younger, observed in the Scottish Parliament in 1706, Scotland "being Poor and without force to protect its Commerce", would continue to be so "till it partake of the Trade and Protection of some powerful Neighbour Nation". England was the logical partner. England and Scotland shared a frontier, England was Scotland's biggest external customer, they had a common language (although Gaelic was spoken in the Highlands and Scots was still widespread), and had rejected Roman Catholicism in favour of Protestantism.

What was Scotland losing? Independence? Not really. Sir John Clerk was one of the Scottish commissioners who 'treated' for union with the English in 1706.

He wrote later that Scotland's independent parliament was a 'meer phantom' of power, and that since 1603 it had been under the control of English ministers appointed by a London-based monarch.

The Darien disaster had shown that, if forced to choose, a British monarch would support England. From the time of James VI through

to King William and his successor Queen Anne, the monarchs of England and Scotland had sought a united kingdom. Pro-unionists believed that if Scotland were part of this her interests would be looked after better in a British Parliament containing Scottish MPs. Even before 1707, political power in Britain resided at Westminster.

In the 19th and 20th centuries some historians were misled into believing that the Union of 1707 was a wise, visionary agreement. It was not, although to be fair some Scottish politicians were men of principle and did see it as a settlement. Among these were the Duke of Queensberry, Commissioner in Scotland, and the infamous Sir John Dalrymple, Stair, later called the traitor.

But few Scots supported the union. It was a practical move designed to solve crises that Scotland faced by England. But for the Scots it was the best arrangement achievable at the time. For two centuries, it was to work in Scotland's interests.

Some people think it still does. ●

UNWANTED UNION

All contemporary sources agree that the Union of 1707 was strongly opposed by the great majority of people in Scotland and regarded as a betrayal of their interests. But Scotland was forced to accept the Union because of its weak position in the face of its aggressive and expansionist neighbour — England.

The English Government thought it was an essential English national interest to prevent Scotland reclaiming independence by escaping from the large measure of de facto control exercised through the joint monarchy. An independent Scotland might revive the old alliance with France, against which England was fighting the most expensive war (so far) in its history.

Scotland had defended its independence against a hostile and more powerful neighbour for 300 years. This had ended with the Union of the Crowns in 1603, but Scotland's experience of joint monarchy had been so unhappy there was general agreement in the country by the end of that century that a drastic change had to be made. Accordingly, the Scottish Parliament in 1703 and again in 1704 passed the Act of Security which was a virtual declaration of independence.

It provided that, on Queen Anne's death, Scotland would either choose a different monarch from England's or transfer all power from Crown to Parliament. Why then did the same Parliament in 1707 agree to the Union after a debate lasting three months?

There was, as always, a combination of reasons. In the first place, Scotland was in a weak position because of the effects of the joint monarchy, a succession of bad harvests, and the failure of the Darien Scheme which had bankrupted most Scots with disposable savings.

Under the joint monarchy, it had contributed men and money for England's wars which were against Scotland's traditional allies and trading partners. Scotland itself had been left with virtually no defence forces.

Secondly, England mounted an elaborate and sophisticated operation to secure the Union. The Treaty itself contained provisions designed to appeal precisely to the selfish interests

But the people's arguments could not prevail against bribery and intimidation

of the classes represented in the Scottish Parliament — the lords, the lawyers, the burghs and all who had lost money invested in the Darien Scheme.

There was systematic bribery of members of the Scottish Parliament on an unprecedented scale, and a campaign of propaganda and influence through agents such as Daniel Defoe.

Above all, there was the implied threat of invasion and the imposition of worse terms. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, an influential member of the Government, wrote later that this was the real reason why a majority of the Parliament was in

The independence of the Scottish Kirk was supposed to be guaranteed in a

and Presbyterianism undermined.

For the first half-century of its existence, the Union had a disastrous effect on Scottish trade. In the mid-19th century some historians theorised that the Union

was a rational decision to barter independence in exchange for access to trade with England and the colonies. It is arguable that Scotland eventually benefited from this trade while the British Empire existed, but the immediate effects were different.

The trading community (like many others) was convinced that Scottish trade would be damaged by the

imposition on Scotland of duties designed for English conditions. They were right, because the immediate effect of the Union was to

that it took about 50 years to recover.

Sir John Clerk wrote two essays and a long history in Latin to try to justify his

change of trade in the Government, he made no attempt to claim that it had helped trade. Writing in 1760, the great economist Adam Smith said of

the Union that its coming hurt the interest of every single

order of men in the country. No wonder if at that time all orders of men conspired in securing a measure so hurtful to their immediate interest.

Why has an economic justification for the Union been suggested by many historians including even some writing today? Partly because it seems to offer a plausible explanation for a transaction which is

otherwise mysterious. But there is a more fundamental reason: it saved the faces of both sides.

England does not like to be seen as a big country bullying a smaller one. Scotland does not like to admit that its Parliament

even if it represented only a small minority of the population yielded to bribery and intimidation. But that, in fact, was the hard truth.

The larger country used its wealth and power to force the surrender of the smaller one at a time when it was particularly vulnerable.

Lawful Prejudices against
an Incorporating

UNION

with England;

O R,

Some modest CONSIDERATIONS

ON

The sinfulness of this UNION, and the
Danger flowing from it to the
Church of SCOTLAND.

Here the 17th, 18, 19. And after all this is come upon us for our evil deeds, and for our great sins, being that we are best pleased, as I tell you, to have the deliverance, and best given us, such a deliverance as this. Should we again break the covenants, and join in affinity with the people of those abominations? would it not then be angry with us till our death, requiring us, so that there should be no remission of our iniquity?

Whether 8 v 10: Say ye not, A confederacy shall return to trouble this people. Neither say, A confederacy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid.

By Mr James Woddy
4th. 14. 1707

EDINBURGH, printed in the year 1707.

Robbie's Cracker of a screen career

From the 1990s onwards, Robbie Coltrane was one of the most famous and most easily recognisable of British television performers, but he was also one of the celebrities about

whom least was really known. He gave countless interviews to buzzing swarms of 'showbiz' writers, yet guarded his privacy fiercely. And who could blame him. This was his responsibility: the mega-celebrity

Funny or dark, Coltrane is literally a big star and always as enigmatic as he is charismatic



■ Tons of talent: Robbie Coltrane won a Best Actor award for *Cracker*.

machine, which latches on to rising stars yet always nurtures the hope of shooting them down. So any showbiz interview with the TV and film actor will be rich in anecdotes about his latest film and his many enthusiasms, but craftily lacking any new information about his background and private life.

This is maybe mirrored by his alias. He was christened Robin McMillan, but took his stage surname from the great American jazz saxophonist John Coltrane who died in 1967, and modern jazz (as well as privacy) is among his great enthusiasms.

Robbie was born in 1950 in Rutherglen, the son of a police surgeon. He had his schooling at Glenalmond in Perthshire, a private school, and these middle-class credentials have always intrigued interviewers who have attempted to label him as almost the opposite, a rebel Scot. And indeed Robbie had an original and creative talent that could not be subdued.

From Glenalmond, he went to Glasgow School of Art and while in his early twenties made a one-hour documentary called 'Young Mental Health' which was acclaimed as Film of the Year in a Scotland-wide competition. From there, he moved to the theatre, working initially with John Byrne, the Paisley-born stage designer with the agitprop 7:84 Theatre Company, who was later to emerge as an important Scottish playwright.

In 1978, Coltrane had a role in 'The Slab Boys' and two years later was touring with a sequel called 'Cuttin' a Rug'. But it was inevitable that he would make a breakthrough to television, and this began in 1981 with 'The Comic Strip' and 'Take 2', when he contributed to a wide range of comedy sketches.

In Scotland especially, he gained an increasing profile through his part as rock'n'roll star Danny McGloone in 'Tutti Frutti', an extremely funny series about the life and times of a dreadful band on the road, written

by Byrne. Here, Coltrane was working beside other rising stars such as Emma Thompson and Richard Wilson, and his performances won him a BAFTA nomination for Best Actor.

Because Coltrane's reputation was made in comedy roles – and through his wonderful talent for mimicry – it was a surprise to find him cast as the leading character in the offbeat TV police drama 'Cracker', created and mostly written by the Liverpudlian Jimmy McGovern, whose previous CV included writing episodes for the soap opera 'Brookside'. But in 'Cracker', Coltrane played a wild-living, Scottish freelance forensic psychologist called in for consultation by a northern English police force.

Perhaps significantly, the role harked back to his childhood as the son of a police surgeon, a son who later remembered the books on pathology and ballistics that could be found in his family's house near Glasgow. The series, with Coltrane as its star, was a massive success.

One critic called the script of a particular episode "a dark, sulphurous monologue that comes off the page like a head butt". And Coltrane himself was a sensation, playing the part of an overweight, chain-smoking, hard-drinking adulterer with the power to get inside the brain of any murderer and discover truths which had been hidden from any normal man. The concept finally ran for 10 episodes between 1993 and 1994, giving Coltrane a huge and loyal British and international audience as a dramatic actor.

The series won him a BAFTA award in 1994 for Best Actor for 'Robbie Coltrane'. Earlier, he had parts in comedies such as 'Nuns on the Run' and 'The Pope Must Die'. He gained more international recognition by appearing in two James Bond movies – 'Goldeneye' and 'The World Is Not Enough'.

Robbie lives with his wife and family in Beverly Hills as well as in Scotland. ●



Helensburgh to Hollywood

But an adoring world has always taken Deborah Kerr as English

One of the brightest Hollywood stars of the immediate post-war era was a lass from Helensburgh. Yet Deborah Kerr was originally trained as a ballet dancer with the Sadler's Wells Company, which probably explains the elegant style she brought to the screen and the fact that she was so frequently cast as a posh, cool Englishwoman.

A typical role was that of the governess in the musical 'The King and I', playing opposite Yul Brynner. Probably her greatest, yet saddest, achievement was given an Oscar for her Lifetime Achievement.

It was around 1939 that Kerr decided to make the move from dancing to

acting, first joining a repertory company in Oxford. Her first small film part came in 1940, but seven years later her starring role in 'Black Narcissus' won her a call to Hollywood and greater fame.

Among the films which won her a Best Actress nomination was 'From Here to Eternity' (1953), in which she broke free from typecasting to play a highly-sexed adulteress. The film delivered six Oscars, including one for Frank Sinatra, but none for Kerr.

Ironically, the only time she played a Swiss woman was early in her career, in the 1941 period melodrama 'Hatter's Castle'. After a 'lifetime of achievement', Deborah Kerr finally retired in the mid Eighties, living with her second husband in Switzerland and Spain.

■ Deborah Kerr received a Lifetime Achievement Oscar in 1994.

THE NEW WORD FOR AN OLDIE

Richard Wilson gave his 'Meldrew' to the language – meaning funny moaner

Scottish television viewers were well aware of Richard Wilson's comic talents before he became Victor Meldrew, the carping and curmudgeonly old bloke from 'One Foot in the Grave'. This part in the BBC series which ran from 1990 to 1995 won him widespread recognition and made 'Meldrew' a household name for grumpy oldsters. Years earlier, he played the Machiavellian band manager in John Byrne's hilarious rock saga 'Tutti Frutti', which also helped to catapult Robbie Coltrane to greater recognition. And like Coltrane, Wilson is stern in keeping his private life from the media.

He once told an interviewer: "The idea of being an actor is that you are supposed to be a metamorphic beast. The more people know

about you, the less you can fool them. Anyway, my private life is all I have left."

It would be hard to place the actor's upbringing from the plummy accent he uses on stage and film, for this was developed by a speech coach at RADA when Wilson was in his twenties.

Born in Greenock, where his father worked in a shipyard, Richard Wilson was at first a laboratory technician and working in a London hospital before he plucked up courage to apply for a place at drama school. He had been performing with amateur groups, and his potential was recognised instantly.

Later, his unique portrayal of Meldrew gave him enough celebrity status and a welcome on any television chat show going



■ Girner from Greenock, but Wilson makes 'em laugh.

When the cure was

In the days of the bone-setters, the ailments were sometimes nothing compared to the quack remedies

Even as recently as the start of the 20th century, qualified doctors in Scotland were complaining about the doings of 'bone-setters'. But what were bone setters exactly? They were medically unqualified people – most often blacksmiths, for some reason – who were believed to have inherited something called 'the touch' through which they could cure all sorts of complaints that affected the sufferer's bones. Their manipulation techniques were known as 'putting in bones'.

The aristocracy, as well as the hoi polloi, would often rather consult a bone setter than a doctor, according to an article in the *Caledonian Medical Journal*, written by a qualified medical man around 1902. And bone setters came from all classes of Scottish life. In Fife, for example, the title was carried not just by blacksmiths but by teachers, joiners, quarrymen, platelayers and midwives.

Why were they preferable to qualified doctors? People believed that although doctors could handle certain illnesses, they "ken naethin' ahont hanes". Bone-setters would even advertise their services in early newspapers, while local GPs were often called on to sort out the shambles left by the so-called cures.

One country doctor recorded the case of a patient who suffered rough handling by the local bone-setter of a tuberculous ankle joint, which was followed by suppuration, septicaemia and death.

This, we must remember, was happening a good century and a half after the science of anatomy was properly established. It is an illustration of how the belief in folk medicine took hold during generations when people had little alternative.

It would take a long time for medical science to supersede medical superstition. And in fact, the range and variety of folk cures might even take as long to master as a proper medical degree.

Some quack cures were revolting. A man who complained of a 'poisoned arm' that was slow in healing was given a treatment by a

tinker woman who called at his cottage. She advised him to get three live puppy dogs, split them open and apply them to the arm while still warm. A neighbour who had a cross bred litter supplied the pups.

A doctor who heard of this treatment said the arm did get better in due course. He also discovered that one of his patients, a boy suffering from incontinence, was being given a folk cure.

This was to swallow, three times a day, a tablespoon full of the liquor in which a mouse had been boiled. An alternative form of this gruesome 'cure' was to roast the mouse, remove its head and crush the animal to powder, which could then be taken when required.

Some folk cures were based on the belief that the sickness or 'trouble' could be transferred to another being, such as an animal. Thus a Fife laird who was notorious for his bad living, and was suffering from venereal disease, was laid inside the carcass of a freshly-killed ox. We don't learn whether the cure worked.

This was similar to the treatment Sir Walter Scott was given, while a boy, at his grandfather's farm. Scott had a weak leg, and this was wrapped in the newly flayed skin every time a sheep was killed.

One so-called cure for neuralgia was to remove the brain from a calf and apply it to the patient's head so that the ache would be 'transferred'. The brain would then be replaced and the animal buried, and as the calf decayed, so the pain would leave the patient. A common cure for warts was to rub them with a live slug which would then be stuck on a thorn and left to die. But if this didn't work, there were alternatives. A warted hand could be thrust into the throat of a newly killed pig.

One Highland cure for epilepsy was to bury a black cock alive on the spot where the patient had the first fit. Another was to burn, or bury, the patient's clothes at that spot.

But the most grisly was to make the sufferer drink water out of the skull of a suicide. It's recorded that a skull was kept for this purpose on the Isle of Lewis, being buried at the



to drink from a skull



Is the baby real? The old bone-setter might suggest that, to find out, it would have to suffer an ordeal by fire.

suicide spot when not required.

Some folk beliefs concerning pregnancy and childbirth can be traced back to the Romans, who insisted that to sit beside a pregnant woman with your legs crossed or your hands clasped would cast 'a malignant spell' over her. This idea survived down the generations, and Scotswomen were forbidden to sit with crossed legs or folded arms when pregnant.

People believed that if a pregnant woman suffered from heartburn, her child would be born with a good head of hair. If the woman had a craving for any kind of food which was withheld from her, the child would be born with that craving. This would be shown by regular shooting-out of its tongue, and the cure was to touch its lips with the food in question.

Some believed they could tell the sex of the child by its position in the womb. 'A laddie is carried high up, a lassie low down' was the wisdom; or, as rural wit put it, 'the lassie bides nearest the door'.

When labour began, it was unlucky for another pregnant woman to be in the house, or a woman who was breast-feeding her own child, as this would interfere with the new mother's milk flow.

Many precautions had to be taken against the baby falling into the hands of fairy-folk. These could include sprinkling the door-posts with stale urine, to discourage unwanted visitors, or putting an old shoe on the fire so that the chimney would be full of foul-smelling smoke.

A new-born child who cried continuously had to go through an ordeal to see if it was a changeling, left by the fairies in exchange for the real baby.

A big fire would be stoked up and the iron girdle for scone-making placed above it.

The baby was held near the fire. If it was a changeling it would disappear up the chimney, while the girdle would keep the real baby from the flames on its return journey.

So the child arrived into a world ruled by superstition. ●

HOW THE UNION COST US A MINT



Not all the promises made in the Articles of Union were kept, says biker historian David Ross

The greater always absorbs the lesser. That is a reasonably well-accepted fact. England has always had the greater land area, and a much larger population than Scotland, so the outcome of a union was perhaps inevitable.

It seems strange that the freedom that every other nation has battled for since the dawn of time should, in Scotland's case, have been decided on the stroke of a pen. Well, not only a pen, but a substantial amount of money changing hands in a surreptitious manner.

"We are bought and sold for English gold," wrote Burns. The bankruptcy caused by the Darien Scheme was very much a deciding factor in this, and yet much of that disaster was caused by English intervention – or lack of it when it was really needed.

The people of Scotland were firmly against the Union, of course, resulting in riots in the streets of Glasgow and Edinburgh. But they had no say in the outcome. Some of the great and good did try to do their best for the ancient northern realm – particularly Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, a name remembered for his loyalty. His home was Saltoun Hall in East Lothian. This was originally an old fortified building, but was modernised and extended in the early 19th century. It is still a private house.

The two nearby villages are West Saltoun and East Saltoun. Fletcher was buried in the family vault in the church in East Saltoun. The site is ancient. The original building was a dependency of Dryburgh Abbey, but today's Gothic-style building with a tower and 90ft-high spire is mostly from 1805. Every year, a commemoration of Fletcher's work is held in the village.

Scotland's last parliament rose on March 25, 1707, never to meet again. It had seen impassioned pleas by the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Belhaven in defence of liberty. Lord Belhaven had made a speech in which he stated that the Scots were now slaves for ever, and that the Union was an entire surrender.

He actually dropped to his knees in tears, begging fellow-peers not to betray their country. He was answered by the pro-Union Earl of Marchmont, who said sneeringly: "Behold, I dreamed, and lo,



■ Saltoun Church, East Lothian – where Fletcher lies in the crypt beneath.

when I awoke, I found it was a dream." The articles of the Union were pushed through.

The Cameronians marched into the town of Dumfries, and at the market cross they burned a copy of the articles of Union, along with a list of the commissioners who signed it. They intended to march on Edinburgh but were betrayed by spies – and the insurrection petered out.

Many of the articles of Union have since been broken, or disregarded. One of these was Article 16, which stated that there should always be a separate mint in Scotland. Although the coinage was now the same in both countries, Scots' coins struck at the mint in Edinburgh were distinguished by the addition of an 'E' beneath the portrait of Queen Anne. For some reason, there were no identification marks on coins struck in London.

Crowns, half-crowns, shillings and six-

pences were struck in 1707 and 1708, but by 1709 only half-crowns and shillings were struck. These were the last coins produced in Scotland.

The mint then remained dormant and was abolished in 1817, the building finally being demolished in 1877.

The first coins in Scotland were struck in the reign of David I in 1136, and for 600 years each king or queen had produced their own.

The Hunterian Museum in Glasgow University has a large collection which is usually on show, and many smaller museums in Scotland have collections of some sort. I love to look over these remnants from the many different ages of our history, especially the early 'hammered' coins – made simply by striking bullion with a hammer and die – and try to imagine the hands that once held them. Wallace? Bruce? Mary, Queen of Scots? Times when Scotland really was Scotland. ●

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SCOTLAND'S STORY

NEXT WEEK IN PART 31

THE FAILED RISING



In some respects the rising of 1715 was the Jacobites' best chance of the 18th century. But the Earl of Mar's indecisive confrontation with Campbell power under Argyll proved that rebellion could not succeed without strong leadership and foreign support.

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